

A
CANDID REVIEW
OF

Mr. PITT's
TWENTY RESOLUTIONS.

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Stantem Columnam ne Pede proruat.

——— *Neu incedas per Ignes*

Suppositos Cineri dolofo———

HOR.

D U B L I N :

Printed for PAT. BYRNE, Corner of CHURCH-
LANE, COLLEGE-GREEN, and P. COONEY,
ESSEX-STREET.

M,DCC,LXXXV.

ERRATA

Page 3, Line 2, for impositions, *read* prohibitions.

Page 11, Line 2, for *tha*, *read* that.

INTRODUCTION.

IF *Mr. Pitt* had succeeded in hurrying his propositions through the House of Commons in England, in the same indecent manner as his agent *Mr. Orde* pursued in *Ireland*, without enquiry, examination, discussion, or deliberation; his deep-laid plan for reducing *this* kingdom to a state of more abject dependence on *Great Britain* than at any period of her history she has ever experienced, might have, by this time, been carried into effect.—But thanks to the constitutional jealousy that animated the exertions of the British senate, merchants and manufacturers, his desperate views have been laid open to the world; and *Ireland* roused by the example of *Britain*, will behold with horror the gulph, on the edge of which she now stands; but into which, I am convinced, there is not a power on earth now sufficient to hurry her, with her eyes open. For destruction to be avoided needs only to be seen; and an attempt to bind the galling chains of *British* legislature on *Irish* independence needs only to be discovered to unite the hands and hearts of every Irishman, in defence of what is nearest and dearest to him as a man, proud of his *freedom*, and determined to part with *independence* but with his life.

If, for the misfortune of both countries, *Mr. Pitt's* plan had been carried into effect, and the two islands been again bound in the connection of *dominion* and *dependance*; good God! what friend to their general happiness but must shudder at the fatal consequences that must soon have fol-

lowed from the ill-sorted union! Jealousy, hatred, aversion, at the moment, must have soon burst out, on the first favourable opportunity, into acts of enmity, civil war, and bloodshed, that must have ultimately led to a final separation.

My object is, at present, to lay before the public, a fair and impartial account of *Mr. Pitt's* resolutions, as they, at present, stand, after having passed the House of Commons in *England*, and as they have been sent up to the Lords; for whatever alterations may be hereafter made, will, most probably, be but very inconsiderable; and I shall add such plain observations on the principal objects of that complicated system, as will render the great features easy and intelligible to every shop-keeper and manufacturer in the kingdom: with a view of uniting every man in the common cause of his country, and rousing every individual to exert himself, either as a member of a county, of a city, borough, or body corporate, to oppose by petition, remonstrance, &c. the detestable idea of bartering the constitutional independence of *Ireland* for a shadow of distant and precarious advantage.

For instead of the mighty advantages to *Ireland* so pompously displayed on the opening this plan, it will appear evident, on consideration, that, if adopted, as now proposed, it would be more likely to injure the trade and infant manufactures of this kingdom, by imposing heavy burdens that must for ever prevent them from flourishing and rising into competition with those of *Great Britain*. And thus *Ireland* would, by the proposed arrangement, be not only reduced to a state of dependance on *Great Britain* for ever; but in point of trade and manufactures be fettered by many regulations and restrictions from which

which she is, at present, exempt, and would be subjected to taxes and impositions to be imposed by her wealthy, powerful, and jealous rival and mistress, *Great Britain*.—A situation too big with ruin to be viewed, even in idea, with patience, by any friend to *Ireland*.

I shall not trifle with your time and good sense, to prove that *Mr. Pitt's* twenty resolutions are different both in spirit and principle from the eleven originally passed in Ireland, as I shall have occasion to call your attention to the material alterations as we go along. The Minister, who spontaneously submitted them to Ireland as the basis of a treaty with *Great Britain*, must appear to every man pledged in the most solemn manner, to abide by his original propositions.—The *Duke of Rutland*, from his situation, became guarantee for his good faith, and for the performance of the articles contained in those propositions : and yet *Mr. Pitt* has not hesitated to infringe this solemn act, to introduce an entirely new system, inconsistent with, and opposite to his former propositions ; declaring thereby to all mankind the levity of his character, his disregard to an engagement of the most solemn nature, his contempt for his Lord Lieutenant, whom he scruples not to insult as a man devoid of character and consistency, the servant of his caprice, the tool of his arbitrary principles, and the engine to execute his high and mighty ministerial mandates.

Is the *Duke of Rutland* degraded to this situation?—Will the proud son of the great and respectable *Marquiss of Granby* ; will the brother of that distinguished youth, who fell high in honour, and covered with glory, sully the bright name of *Manners* by such a line of conduct ? I entertain too high an idea of his *Grace's* character, to

suspect him of such meanness.—His judgment may have been misled, his unsuspecting character imposed on by artifice, and his honest nature beguiled into actions that I blame and disapprove, but I am convinced he is incapable of deliberate dishonour.

With the simple repeal of the *Duke of Portland* on the one hand, and the declaratory act of *Lord Temple* on the other, he will be incapable of proposing *Mr. Pitt's* fourth resolution to a House of Commons, rendered independent by *their* ministerial intercession, even if he were not already engaged, as he appears to me, by honour and consistency, to stand or fall with the propositions that he himself proposed to both Houses of Parliament.—He will feel the dignity of his situation.—He will feel the inspiration of a great and illustrious ancestry, he will feel himself the object of public attention, with the eyes of Europe, at this moment, watching his conduct.—He will reflect on the manly spirit of a *Carlisle*,—on the rigid honest independence of a *Portland*,—on the haughty pride of a *Temple*,—on the steady unbending dignity of a *Northington*, and he will act as becomes the successor and rival of such men.—Evasive explanations and the low artifice of quibbling manœuvre may do for little men, but the *Duke of Rutland's* name will, I hope, never become subservient to the ministerial purposes of *double dealing and political deception*.

It is the misfortune of every Lord Lieutenant to be beset by some men of so infamous characters as to be ever ready to counsel every thing desperate, every thing dishonourable.—Men, who have carried with them into high office and lucrative stations, the original meanness of their selfish and venal minds, and who court infamy in hopes of being better paid.—No system of
slavery,

slavery, no plan of despotism, but such men are eager to support, and zealous to introduce.—But there are others, and, I hope, by far the greater number, who hold office, and may join in supporting the ordinary business of government in instances where they cannot altogether approve; but who will, on this great and trying crisis, be found men of honour, of manly firmness, consistent with their former conduct, and inspired with just notions of their country's independence, which themselves have laboured to establish:—Men incapable of truckling to the British Minister of the day, of subjecting their country to the slavery of *British dominion*, and kicking down the *stantem columnam* of *Irish freedom*, that their exertions have assisted in rearing.

Tho' I may entertain but a so so opinion of many individuals of the present illustrious *House of Commons*, I hope, as a body, they will ever remember the conduct of the last Parliament, and the share of honour they claimed in emancipating their country from the *British* yoke;—I hope they will emulate their example, and not justify a suspicion that their exertions originated with any body of men but themselves, or proceeded from any meaner motives than public spirit and a love of their country: let them only reflect on the transactions of the last eight years, and then determine, from the past events, the future probabilities.

Let me take the liberty of addressing a few words to those worthy and respectable Citizens, the VOLUNTEERS, the Assertors of *Irish Independence*, the Guardians of *Irish Freedom*—not to instigate them to tumult and disorder, for such mad suggestions would surely meet contempt from their deliberate prudence; but to exhort them to persist in their steady determined attention

tion to what so materially concerns them as *men*, and as *Irishmen*. They may safely imitate the vigilant interference of *Great Britain*, where almost every description and denomination of men have publicly protested against the propositions, as originally voted in this kingdom. It will be flattering, on the present occasion, to find the VOLUNTEERS alive and attentive to so important a subject; but I apprehend they may safely trust their cause to those men who have so often stood their champions, and pleaded their cause with energy and effect. I never will consider the illiberal abuse poured on some of the first characters of the kingdom, as the voice of the public, or the opinion of the VOLUNTEERS.—Men of principle, acting from the most upright intentions, must frequently differ, and the judicious and liberal will ever make allowance for such a difference of opinion. Let the public entertain no suspicion of some great men who may have been in these circumstances; without communication with them, I will venture to foretell, that such suspicions would be ungenerous as they will prove unjust; and if, unfortunately, any differences may have arisen between such men, let the public rest assured that the only subject of contest, on the present occasion, will be an animated and laudable struggle for the foremost place in fighting the common cause.—Our Irish *Aristides* and *Themistocles* will cordially unite in defending their country, and in repelling a foreign foe.

I shall now proceed to a candid examination of the Twenty Resolutions, which the *Minister* has declared to contain the conditions upon which his new connection is to be formed between the two Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and as I shall have frequent occasion to refer to them as I go along, it is essential to have before our eyes a
true

true copy of the Resolutions as they stand at present, as sent to the House of Lords after having passed the Commons.

BRITISH RESOLUTIONS.

The Alterations from the Irish Resolutions, and the new Resolutions are printed in Italicks.

FIRST RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

SECOND RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

*“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 “ it is consistent with the essential interests of the ma-
 “ nufactures, revenue, commerce, and navigation of
 “ Great Britain, that a FULL participation of com-
 “ mercial advantages should be permanently secured
 “ to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally perma-
 “ nent and secure, should be made by the Parliament
 “ of that kingdom, towards defraying, in propor-
 “ tion to its growing prosperity, the necessary ex-
 “ pences in time of peace of protecting the trade and
 “ general interests of the empire.”*

THIRD

THIRD RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, "*except those of the growth, produce or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan,*" should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they "*would be*" liable when imported directly from the "*country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be;*" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, "*except on Arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies,*" shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. "*But nevertheless that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as, at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards.*"

FOURTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

"THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the law for regulating trade
" and

“ and navigation should be the same in Great Britain
 “ and Ireland; and therefore that it is essential, to-
 “ wards carrying into effect the present settlement,
 “ that all laws which have been made, or shall be
 “ made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive pri-
 “ vileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain,
 “ Ireland and the British Colonies and Plantations,
 “ and for regulating and restraining the trade of the
 “ British Colonies and Plantations, such laws imposing
 “ the same restraints, and conferring the same be-
 “ nefits on the subjects of both kingdoms should be in
 “ force in Ireland, by laws to be passed by the Parlia-
 “ ment of that kingdom for the same time, and in the
 “ same manner as in Great Britain, and that proper
 “ measures should from time to time be taken for ef-
 “ fectually carrying the same into execution.”

FIFTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the Opinion of this Committee, that
 “ it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods
 “ and commodities of the growth, produce, or manu-
 “ facture of British or foreign Colonies in America,
 “ or the West Indies, and the British or foreign Set-
 “ tlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ire-
 “ land, should on importation be subject to the same
 “ duties and regulations, as the like goods are, or
 “ from time to time shall be subject to upon importa-
 “ tion into Great Britain, or if prohibited to be im-
 “ ported into Great Britain, shall be prohibited in
 “ like manner from being imported into Ireland.”

SIXTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 “ in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the
 C “ revenue

"revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is
 "expedient that all goods, whether of the growth,
 "produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ire-
 "land, or of any foreign country, which shall here-
 "after be imported into Great Britain from Ireland,
 "or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put
 "by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of the two
 "kingdoms, under the same regulations, with respect
 "to bonds, cockets and other instruments, to which
 "the like goods are now subject in passing from one
 "port of Great Britain to another."

SEVENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

"THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 "for the like purpose, it is also expedient that when
 "any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture
 "of the British West India Islands, or any other of
 "the British Colonies or Plantations, shall be shipped
 "from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be ac-
 "companied with such original certificates of the re-
 "venue officers of the said colonies as shall be required
 "by law on importation into Great Britain, and
 "that when the whole quantity included in one certi-
 "ficate shall not be shipped at any one time, the ori-
 "ginal certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity,
 "should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify
 "the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new
 "certificates should be granted by the principal officers
 "of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of
 "the original documents, specifying the quantities be-
 "fore shipped from thence, by what vessels and to
 "what ports."

EIGHTH

EIGHTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ *THAT* it is the opinion of this Committee, *tha*
 “ it is essential for carrying into effect the present set
 “ tlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the
 “ British Colonies in the West Indies, or in America,
 “ or to the British Settlements on the coast of Africa,
 “ or to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to
 “ the Streights of Magellan, should from time to time,
 “ be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and
 “ put under the same regulations as may be necessary,
 “ in order that the same may not be exported with less
 “ incumbrance of duties or impositions, than the like
 “ goods shall be burdened with when exported from
 “ Great Britain.”

NINTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

“ *THAT* it is the opinion of this Committee, *that*
 “ it is essential to the general commercial interests of
 “ the Empire, that so long as the Parliament of this
 “ kingdom shall think it adviseable that the commerce
 “ to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to
 “ the Streights of Magellan shall be carried on solely
 “ by an exclusive company, having liberty to import
 “ into the port of London only, no goods of the
 “ growth, produce, or manufacture of the said coun-
 “ tries, should be allowed to be imported into Ireland
 “ but through Great Britain, except dye-stuffs, drugs,
 “ cotton, or other wool and spiceries, which may be
 “ imported into Ireland from foreign European coun-
 “ tries, so long as the same are importable from fo-
 “ reign European countries into Great Britain, and
 “ that

" that it shall be lawful to export such goods of the
 " growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the
 " countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the
 " Streights of Magellan, from Great Britain to Ire-
 " land with the same duties retained on their being
 " exported to that kingdom; but that an account shall
 " be kept of the duties retained and not drawn back
 " on the said goods exported to Ireland, and that the
 " amount thereof shall be remitted by the Receiver
 " General of his Majesty's Customs in Great Britain,
 " to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to
 " be placed to the account of his Majesty's revenue
 " there, subject to the disposal of the parliament of
 " that kingdom; and that the ships going from Great
 " Britain to any of the said countries beyond the
 " Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan,
 " should not be restrained from touching at any of the
 " ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of
 " the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of
 " that kingdom; and that no ships be allowed to clear
 " out from Ireland for any of the said countries, but
 " such ships as shall be freighted by the said company,
 " and which shall have sailed from the port of Lon-
 " don; and that whenever the commerce to the said
 " country shall cease to be carried on solely by such
 " an exclusive company, the goods, the growth, pro-
 " duce, or manufacture of the said countries beyond
 " the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Ma-
 " gellan, should be importable into Ireland from the
 " same countries from which they may be importable
 " into Great Britain, and no other."

TENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
 no prohibition should exist in either country a-
 gainst

gainst the importation, use, or sale of any article the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, "except such as either kingdom may judge expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits, and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish Parliament, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and dimensions of the ships importing the same; and also, except on ammunition, arms, gun-powder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his Majesty's licence;" and that the duty on the importation of every such article, (if subject to duty in either country,) should be precisely the same in the one country, as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, "or an internal bounty in the country where such article is grown, produced or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits."

ELEVENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom, where they are the highest to "an amount not exceeding" the amount payable in the other,

other, " *so that the same shall not be less than ten*
" and an half per centum where any article was
" charged with a duty on importation into Ireland,
" of ten and a half per centum or upwards, on the
" 17th day of May, 1782," and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duties as the similar commodities or home-manufacture of the same kindom.

TWELFTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is also proper that in all cases " where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture when imported from the other may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the " internal" duty on the manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland, as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon ;" such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed ; and that " where there is " duty on the raw material of any manufacture in " either kindom, less than the duty on the like " raw material in the other, or equal to such duty, " such manufacture may, on its importation " into the other kingdom" be charged with such " a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to " subject the same so imported, to burdens adequate to those which the manufacture composed " of the like raw material is subject to in consequence

“ quence of duties on such material in the king-
 “ dom into which such manufacture is so import-
 “ ed ; and that the said manufacture so imported
 “ shall be intitled to such drawbacks or bounties
 “ on exportation, as may leave the same subject
 “ to no heavier burden than the home made ma-
 “ nufacture.”

THIRTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee,
 that in order to give permanency to the settlement
 now intended to be established, it is necessary
 that no new or additional duties should be here-
 after imposed in either kingdom, on the impor-
 tation of any article of the growth, product, or
 manufacture of the other, except such additional
 duties as may be requisite to balance duties on
 internal consumption pursuant to the foregoing
 resolution : “ *or in consequence of bounties remain-*
 “ *ing on such article when exported from the other*
 “ *kingdom.*”

FOURTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee,
 that for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther
 that no “ new prohibition” or new or additional
 duties, should be hereafter imposed in either
 kingdom on the exportation of any article of na-
 tive growth, produce or manufacture from “ *the*
 “ *one kingdom*” to the other, except such as
 either kingdom may deem expedient from time
 to time upon corn, meal, malt, flour and bis-
 cuits.

FIFTEENTH

FIFTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, "*and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn,*" and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, and that no bounty should be "*payable in Ireland on exportation of any article to any British Colonies, or Plantations, or to the British Settlements on the coast of Africa,*" or on the exportation of any articles imported from the British Plantations, "*or from the British Settlements on the coast of Africa, or British Settlements in the East Indies,*" or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid thereon in Great Britain, "*and that where any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto, may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.*"

SIXTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

THAT it is the opinion of this Committee,
that

that it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign "countries," should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may effectually favour "the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other;" "except in the case of materials of manufacture, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free, and that in all cases, where any articles are, or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the States of North America, then the like goods are, or may be subject to when imported as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British Colonies and Plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland from the countries belonging to any of the States of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom."

SEVENTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

"THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that such privileges of printing and vending books as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain under the grant of the crown, or otherwise, and the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the Parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to similar rights and privileges in that kingdom."

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EIGHTEENTH

EIGHTEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

*" THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
" it is expedient that regulations should be adopted
" with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for
" the encouragement of new inventions, so that the
" rights, privileges and restrictions, therein grant-
" ed and contained, shall be of equal force and dura-
" tion throughout Great Britain and Ireland."*

NINETEENTH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

*" THAT it is the opinion of this Committee, that
" it is expedient that measures should be taken to pre-
" vent disputes touching the exercise of the right of
" the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coasts
" of any part of the British dominions."*

TWENTIETH RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED,

*THAT it is the opinion of this Committee,
that " the appropriation of whatever sum the
" gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of
" Ireland" " the due collection thereof being secu-
" red by permanent provisions," shall produce af-
ter deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or
bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks,
over and above the sum of £.656,000 in each
year towards the support of the naval force of the
Empire, " to be applied" in such a manner as the
" Parliament of Ireland shall direct," " by an act
" to*

“ to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory
 “ provision proportioned to the growing prosperity of
 “ that kingdom, towards defraying in time of peace,
 “ the necessary expences of protecting the trade and
 “ general interests of the Empire.”

It is a common error to suppose that the
"average" of a set of numbers is the same as the
"middle" number. This is not true. The "average"
is the sum of the numbers divided by the number of
numbers. The "middle" number is the number which
has as many numbers above it as below it.

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OBSERVATIONS.

RESOLUTION I.

THIS Resolution contains a general view of the settlement proposed, the object of which is expressly declared to be, to regulate the intercourse and commerce between *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, on permanent and equitable principles.

Nothing can appear more fair than this resolution, and yet the Minister has departed from this object, by erecting upon it a system for limiting, restraining, and burdening the commerce of *Ireland* with the *British West Indies*, and the *American Colonies*, with *Africa*, and the free States of *America*, by resolution 5th, resolution 8th, resolution 16th: of prohibiting *Ireland* from trading with any independent states beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, and binding her to the monopoly of the *East India* Company by resolution 9th; and further of subjecting her to *British* acts of parliament, in cases of *internal legislation*, as well as *external*, by resolution 4th, 5th, and 16th, as will be more fully explained under those propositions.

It may not be amiss to observe that the very object of the whole settlement has been altered by Mr. Pitt, for as originally proposed in *Ireland*, it was to encourage and extend as much as possible the trade between the two kingdoms, but
Mr.

Mr. Pitt rejects the idea of *extending* the trade, and confines his object to *regulate*.—The reason of this alteration will appear under resolution 14th.—For the present, let me only observe that it is a material departure from the plan of settlement originally proposed.

RESOLUTION II.

This resolution contains the principle or basis on which the above regulation is intended to be carried into execution.—It is stated as a *conditional bargain*; offering on the one hand a FULL PARTICIPATION of *commercial advantages* to Ireland, whenever Ireland shall make a *provision* towards defraying the expences of protecting the trade, &c. of the empire, in *time of peace*.—And the 20th resolution which ought to be considered as a part of the 2d, declares what that *provision* is to be, and how it is to be secured.

This resolution is founded on an *assumption* which I positively declare to be FALSE and INADMISSIBLE, viz. that Ireland enjoys no just RIGHT or CLAIM to the *participation of commercial advantages*, and must therefore engage to purchase them by a *compensation* from Great Britain.—This is not only an inference, but the foundation of the whole plan, and by treating on such terms, Ireland would directly acknowledge the exclusive RIGHT of Great Britain to deny her that *participation*, without a *compensation* of an ANNUAL SUPPLY.

That Ireland ought to contribute to the defence of the trade of the empire, I am most ready to admit.—And she has ever shown an inclination to bear her share of the public expence, even beyond her abilities.—My objection is to agreeing to pay that contribution as a *purchase* of
what

what she has a RIGHT to claim on other grounds; namely, as a compensation for a *participation* of similar *commercial advantages* granted by her to *Great Britain*.—For

The only *commercial advantages* that are to be communicated to *Ireland*, by virtue of this act, are a permission to send her manufactures, and the importable produce of foreign states, or our own colonies into *Great Britain*. It is not material to advert to the regulations to be adopted on this trade.—I only ask if *Great Britain* does not now enjoy the power of sending similar articles, and her manufactures into *Ireland*; and if she has not ever since the union of the crowns enjoyed this advantage?—

If so, *Ireland* neither can, or ought to grant any other compensation for a *participation* of *commercial advantages*, but a continuance of a like indulgence to *Great Britain*.—Any pecuniary compensation paid in consequence of such an agreement would be a *direct* TRIBUTE from a VASSAL to a LIEGE LORD, and a positive acknowledgment of our holding such a participation as a grant, and not as a RIGHT.

Ireland deprecates the *participation* that the minister would force on her; she desires only to protect her own manufactures by duties similar to those by which *Great Britain* protects her's.—*Great Britain* must therefore consent, either that *Ireland* regulate the trade by duties similar to those in *Great Britain*; or she must admit *Ireland* to a participation of the *commercial advantages* that *Ireland* has hitherto granted, exclusively, to her; and which *Ireland* has, in consequence, a RIGHT to demand.

REMARK here, that this idea of a compensation originated with the minister in *England*; and every man will readily see how very material it is,

is, as the *first* feature of the minister's plan of establishing the *supertority* and *dominion* of *Great Britain* over *Ireland*.

Having thus laid open the fallacy and injustice of the principle on which this resolution rests; let us next advert to the *conditions* of the bargain that the minister has proposed: namely, a *full participation* of *commercial advantages* to *Ireland*, the *compensation* stated in the 20th resolution; and which is there declared to be a *satisfactory provision* to *Great Britain*.

The man who offers a bargain, ought at least to be bound strictly to adhere to the terms of his own proposal.—By this resolution, and the 20th, *Great Britain* engages to demand no other compensation than what is contained in the 20th resolution; and yet notwithstanding this engagement, the minister, in resolution 5th, 8th, and 16th, insists on *Ireland's* further submitting to additional duties, impositions, and prohibitions: and in resolution 9th, to the monopoly of the East India Company: which is likewise violating the other condition of the bargain, by subjecting *Ireland* to a *participation of commercial DISADVANTAGES*, instead of the *advantages* which are held out as the terms of the agreement.

I beg that every person will here clearly distinguish between the objects of the 5th, 8th, 9th, and 16th resolutions, which directly impose duties, restrictions, and prohibitions on *Ireland*, and those resolutions which are simply of regulation, as stated in resolution first, to be the object of the settlement: for the former are of a totally different nature; and therefore in contradiction with the general object of the *first* resolution, and the special conditions of the *second*.

R E S O-

RESOLUTION III.

This resolution, and the 10th, contain the specification of commercial advantages stated in the 2d resolution, the one comprehending articles of *foreign produce*, the other, those of *home produce*, or *manufacture*, which are to be henceforth admitted into the ports of *Great Britain* from *Ireland*; all of which are, at present, admitted from *Great Britain* into *Ireland*. As far therefore as *reciprocity* can constitute a right, *Ireland* must be allowed to have a right to demand a similar indulgence from *Great Britain*, exclusively of any compensation whatever.—This answers to the 2d original resolution, with the material alteration of an exception of all *East India* goods from the reciprocity laid down as the basis of the resolution; an alteration of the most serious nature, as demanding a surrender of the most extensive consequence on the part of *Ireland*, in addition to the terms originally proposed.—The particulars will come more properly under resolution 9th, where they are expressly detailed.

RESOLUTION IV.

This resolution is entirely new, being as well as the 5th, 8th, and latter part of the 16th inserted by *Mr. Pitt* in *England*, and as the principle on which they rest is the same, I shall in that respect consider them together.

I have already shewn that the 2d resolution, by assuming as an axiom, the *superiority* of *Great Britain* over *Ireland*, and her claim of right to exact a pecuniary compensation for a participation of commercial advantages to *Ireland*, laid the foundation for the system which the minister has had the unblushing audacity to hold out to *Ireland* in these four resolutions, which is no other

than a resignation of her *independence*, and binding her by a solemn contract and engagement to transfer to *Great Britain* the sole power of making laws and imposing taxes on her commerce to the enormous extent therein stated; being no less than the whole of the trade with the *British West Indies*, and *American Colonies*, with all the independent states of *America*, and with *Africa*.

The utmost that ever *Great Britain* contended for, previous to the repeal of the 6th of *George the First*, was a power of external legislation for the regulation of commerce.—But *Mr. Pitt*, notwithstanding the repeal of that act, and the declaratory act renouncing any claim of right on the part of *Great Britain* to such power in future for ever, demands not only a restitution of this power to *Great Britain* by his 4th resolution, but demands further a power of imposing taxes in this kingdom, not only on our trade with the *British colonies*, but even on our trade with the independent states of *America*, and of imposing prohibitions without the consent of, or communication with *Ireland* by his 5th and 16th resolutions.

Mr. Pitt says,—No—*Great Britain* is not to make laws and impose taxes on *Ireland*, for such *British* acts are not to have force unless passed by the *Irish* parliament.—The answer is easy to the simplest man in the kingdom.—The *Irish* parliament is to continue to be the mode of promulgating such *British laws*; but the *Irish* parliament is now called on to pledge herself that she shall in all times hereafter promulgate such laws.—The *Irish* parliament is to be deprived of the only test of *free agency*, the power of *accepting* or *rejecting*. She is to be bound to *implicit obedience*. It would be insulting to the meanest understanding to enlarge on such a situation, or to attempt

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to prove so evident a truth, as that it would be DEPENDANCE and SLAVERY in the extreme.

But says Mr. Pitt, *Ireland* is independent, and may contract with *Great Britain* for a connexion suitable to their relative situations. I grant she may, and feel that she is NOW INDEPENDENT.—But after such a contract she must be a *slave* for ever, because the contract is for *slavery* and *dependance*. I am now a FREEMAN, and may sell myself to a *West India* Planter as a slave; but after signing and sealing the contract that deprived me of liberty, I should be a Freeman no longer. I might *regain* my liberty by flying from my master, but never could demand it as a RIGHT. On the contrary, my master would have a RIGHT to compel me to his service by *violence* and *force*.

But says Mr. Pitt, *Ireland* shall not hereafter *deliberate*, *propose*, *alter*, or *amend*, but she may *reject*; and then the whole contract ceases, and the system tumbles to pieces. I answer, that *Ireland* certainly MAY reject, after this contract. But she is to pledge herself solemnly that she shall not ever *reject*, and after such a contract, *Great Britain* would acquire a RIGHT to compel her to the performance of the stipulations. Nothing can be so absurd as such a mode of reasoning, where the POWER is substituted for the RIGHT.—I MAY commit murder, but the laws will order me to be hanged. The consequence of such acts of power between nations is an *appeal to arms*. Is this the security Mr. Pitt wishes to hold out for the permanence of his settlement between two friendly and sister kingdoms?—Wretched system!—dreadful prospect indeed!

But, says Mr. Pitt again, I wish *Ireland* to view these stipulations as articles in a treaty between *Great Britain* and *France*, by which *France*

shall bind herself to do something, when *Great Britain* shall have done something. Such quibbling sophistry scarcely deserves to be answered, except that every thing will be caught at to bewilder the ignorant, and to justify the artful, who will pretend ignorance.—But does the nature of the SOMETHING go for nothing? If *Ireland* were *specifically* to engage to open her ports to *British* manufactures, and the produce of the *West Indies* from *Great Britain*, when *Great Britain* opened her ports to similar imports from *Ireland*, the case would be applicable. But when did *France*, or any the meanest country on earth, ever engage to lay such *restrictions*, *limitations*, and *prohibitions* on her trade, and to impose such *taxes* and *imposts* on her subjects as *Great Britain*, or any other kingdom should judge expedient, *eventually*, from time to time, to impose on her's.—Such an absurdity never entered into the mind of man, so far from being adopted by nations.

As to the particular object of the 4th resolution, the binding *Ireland* to the navigation laws of *Great Britain*, that either now exist, or may be hereafter enacted, it would be easy to shew that regulations suited to the wealth, riches, and extensive trade of *Great Britain*, may, and would be destructive to *Ireland*, circumstanced so differently as to those essential considerations, and that the only security of *Ireland*, on this head, must rest on the good faith of a jealous rival.—But so much has already been said, and written on this subject, that I shall not enlarge on it.

With such a plan in his head, will any man wonder at the Minister's anxiety to suppress the VOLUNTEERS, and to wrest their arms from the most determined Guardians of *Irish Independence*? I have already cautioned that respectable body against ill-timed suspicions. Let me again repeat
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the admonition, and entreat them not rashly to suspect any man in the kingdom of lending a hand to a scheme for that purpose, if he had been apprised of its tendency. A Minister has advised you to lay down your arms, only with a reform of your constitution.—I trust I shall be excused in expressing a hope that those arms will never be employed but in the *support of the laws*, and in *defence of your constitution*.

RESOLUTION V.

Subjects many new branches of commerce to the condition imposed on Ireland by Great Britain in 1780, of laying equal duties on all articles then permitted for the first time to be imported into Ireland from the West Indies, &c.

This is a demand so partial, unjust, and unfounded, as this kingdom never can, on any consideration, submit to; and it is inconceivable how *Mr. Pitt* could demand from *Ireland*, possessed of a free trade, and independent as she now is, what *Lord North* was restrained by motives of justice from insisting on, in return for a grant of that free trade to *Ireland*, then dependent on *Great Britain*.

RESOLUTION VI and VII.

Two new resolutions, and contain regulations for the trade between the two kingdoms, to which, if they had been originally proposed to *Ireland*, I think there could not have been any fair objection.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Has been added by *Mr. Pitt*, since his original proposal to *Ireland*.—Its object is sufficiently evident,

dent, being to prevent *Ireland* from giving such assistance to her infant manufactures as may enable them to contend with the *British*, in the *British Colonies*, *West Indies*, or *Africa*, which object is more particularly pursued in R. 15.—It is entirely foreign to the object of the settlement laid down in resolution 1st, and made no part of the original plan; and however fair and specious the terms of these two resolutions may appear, as they deprive *Ireland* of a right and an advantage that she enjoys in her present situation, she ought not to submit to be stripped of them, by a settlement of the intercourse between the two kingdoms, from which they are entirely distinct, and with which they are absolutely unconnected.—But this is not all, for this 8th Resolution grants to *Great Britain* a power which might be employed to the very ruin of this kingdom, by giving her the power of taxing all exports from *Ireland* to the *British Colonies*, *West Indies*, or *Africa*. It may be generally said that *Great Britain* must then ruin herself, for she must first impose the same taxes on her own exports to these countries; but a moment's consideration will shew that *Great Britain* might materially injure *Ireland*, without hurting herself, by imposing taxes on articles that are more particularly of the produce and manufacture of this kingdom, which *Ireland* would be obliged to adopt: It certainly cannot be treated as even an improbable supposition that *Great Britain*, exhausted by taxes, and at her wit's end for ways and means, should think of laying a duty, for example, on *Irish linens* exported from *Great Britain* to those countries.—The consequences to *Ireland* need not be explained; it is sufficient to shew here the danger of entrusting such a power to any nation, tho' the most closely connected with us in amity and friendship.

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The woollen and hard-ware manufactures of *Britain* are in so flourishing a state, that they could bear a duty on exportation, which might be urged as a tax on the consumption of our colonies, &c. ; but the same tax imposed on these manufactures from *Ireland*, could not fail of acting as a total prohibition.

These instances are sufficient to shew the dangerous tendency of this resolution, without entering on a variety of other considerations that will naturally present themselves on reflecting on this subject.

As it may be possibly urged in defence of the principle of this resolution, and the 15th, that it is the same as the basis of the famous grant of *free trade* in 1780, and is only an extension of the burdens, restrictions, and limitations that *Ireland* then subjected herself to, I shall beg leave to point out the essential difference between the principle of the one and the other.

In the year 1780, Great Britain made a grant to *Ireland* of a trade that she, *Great Britain*, enjoyed, exclusively, on condition that all articles that were included under that grant, should be subject in *Ireland* to the same duties as paid in *Britain*, either on importation or exportation, but with this express proviso, that *Ireland* might, at any time, refuse imposing such duties, and the consequence was clearly ascertained to be, that *Ireland* was not to import or export the particular article or articles on which she refused to lay such duty; thus giving up the trade in that one article, without forfeiting her *general right*; and the operation of this act was strictly confined to the articles which *Ireland* acquired the right of importing and exporting by that agreement, and on that express condition. Nothing could be more fair than the *principle* of this transaction; but

but the case here is totally different, as *Ireland* is called on to surrender a RIGHT that she is fully possessed of, and to submit ALL her exports and imports to and from the *British Colonies, West Indies and Africa*, to the discretion of the *British Legislature*, generally, in all cases whatsoever, without any reserve or exception; for her refusal in any one instance would be an infringement of the whole, and the consequences, such as I have stated, under resolution the 2d.

RESOLUTION IX.

Is an innovation of the most serious nature, and greatest importance, as thereby *Ireland* is to bind herself to submit to the monopoly of the *British East India Company*, without any compensation whatever, except a vague permission to outward-bound *East-India* ships to call at *Ireland*, and take in any articles of native growth or manufacture, a permission that may very safely be granted, as nothing but stress of weather is ever likely to bring an outward-bound *East-India* ship to the ports of *Ireland*. In the first place *Ireland* has no produce or manufactures that enter into that trade, and if she had, the *East-India* Company would find their account in having them shipped with their cargoes in *England*, and transported for that purpose, rather than risk the loss of a passage, by calling at any port in *Ireland*.—This permission therefore is futile and nugatory.

It is universally allowed that *Ireland*, at present, has the power of trading directly with *China, Indostan*, or any other independent states in *Africa* or *Asia*, except the restriction she imposed on herself, by the 15th of *Geo. 3. chap. 16. sec. 30.* which may be repealed at her pleasure. But this power is of no present use, as she has not the property

property and shipping requisite to make advantage of it. But the case may alter, and she may soon acquire the means to render it a most lucrative trade. Ought she then to resign her **RIGHT** for ever, without even limitation, condition, or power of resumption?—No wise man would give away for ever a *rich mine*, for no other reason but that he had not then the means of working it.—Yet such exactly would the conduct of *Ireland* be, if she agreed to the proposed resolution.—*Ireland* might, at present, supply herself with *East-India* produce on much better terms than she can from the *British* company, and most probably obtain at the same time an advantageous market for some of her manufactures in return. Whatever indulgence therefore she grants to the *British* company should be regarded as a favour, and held as such at her discretion. Great caution is requisite in even granting favours to a body of men, notorious for usurpation, injustice, and want of good faith. *Ireland* has before her eyes the example of *Great Britain* smarting under the pressure of a tax, vexatious as well as burthensome, imposed on windows, in commutation of the tax formerly paid on tea. If *Ireland* were to bind herself to the monopoly of the *British East India* Company in the same manner as *Great Britain*, what plea could she urge for being exempted from this odious and oppressive grievance? The *East India* Company would not fail to demand it, and Mr. *Pitt* owes them too much to dare to refuse the demand. If he did not dread the resentment of *Great Britain*, he would not certainly be deterred by that of *Ireland*.

If any man will look at the extent from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, he will see that such a renunciation would be like a man binding himself to give up all the ac-

quisitions that he, or his descendants, may ever acquire in any time to come.

RESOLUTION X. XI. XII. AND XIII.

Answer to the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of the original plan, and contain the regulations for the importation into either kingdom, of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other. Since they were first proposed, they have received several alterations to remove the apprehensions entertained by the *British* manufacturers of being rivalled in their own market. This is the part of the system that has met with the strongest opposition in *Great Britain*, where people arguing from theories drawn from the comparative state of taxes, and the price of labour and provisions, have concluded that the *Irish* manufactures ought to come cheaper to their market than their own. But unfortunately for us, we have the experience of ages to contradict these speculative theories, and to convince us, that the reverse ever has been the case; and to justify our concluding that what has hitherto been, most probably will always continue to be, but most certainly for a long period of time indeed!

Now it is very remarkable that both *Britain* and *Ireland* view this part of the plan with equal apprehension and disapprobation:—the one as threatening ruin to her flourishing manufactures, the other as tending to prevent her manufactures from ever becoming flourishing. Why then, in the name of common sense, press on the two kingdoms a plan to which they are equally averse? and yet in this consists the greatest share of the commercial advantages, for a participation of which, *Ireland* is called on to make so many, and so important sacrifices.

Ireland.

Ireland desired a permission to lay low duties on *British* manufactures, in order to encourage or protect her infant manufactures, and not prohibitory duties, such as exclude her's from *Great Britain*. Mr. Pitt says, no—but you may send your manufactures into *Great Britain*; that is, when you arrive at equal perfection, and have capitals sufficient to give as long credit, without which the permission is nugatory. The *British* manufacturers, alarmed at the most distant prospect of a competition in their home-market, exclaim loudly against this permission being granted to *Ireland*. To them Mr. Pitt says, it shall be granted; but to satisfy you, I will burden, limit, and restrain almost every other part of the *Irish* commerce.—I will strip that haughty nation of their much boasted *independence*, and render them again subservient to the IMPERIAL decrees of *British* legislature. And this is the plan by which jealousy is to be removed, and concord and harmony established between the two kingdoms for ever!

RESOLUTION XIV.

Has undergone a most material alteration, which does not immediately appear, as it is by omitting a clause in the original resolution, whereby the nature of the resolution is totally changed: As it now stands, no prohibition or additional duties can be *hereafter* imposed on the exportation of articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom to the other. But the prohibitions, at present existing are not to be abolished, by which means all articles of the growth or produce of *Ireland* may be exported to supply the *British* manufactures, as there is no prohibition on exportation from *Ireland* to

Great Britain, whereas the prohibitions and high duties on exportation of several raw materials from *Great Britain* will keep up the monopoly to that kingdom, to the prejudice of *Ireland*. By the original plan, a power was granted to *Ireland* to impose prohibitions, or prohibitory duties, which is now taken away by the resolution in its present state. Thus *Great Britain* secures for ever our bay yarn, linen yarn, raw hides, &c. &c. to supply her manufactures, and peevishly denies us her wool, fuller's earth, &c. I am no friend to prohibitions, and should be sorry that *Ireland* ever retaliated in that way, as I am of opinion that a free exportation of even raw materials, is the best expedient for a plentiful and cheap supply at home. But the Minister should have, at least, sacrificed the mean and degrading spirit of *British monopoly*, in this instance, on his newly erected altar to unanimity and concord.

R E S O L U T I O N X V.

Answers to 7th original resolution.—In its former state it contained the regulations to be adopted for granting bounties on exportation, from one kingdom to the other, &c. founded on a fair principle, and confined to the object of the settlement proposed to be made. But a clause has been introduced in *England* of a different nature, and foreign to the original object, by which *Ireland* is to be restrained from giving bounties on exportation to the *British Colonies* and *Plantations*, or to *Africa*, except where bounties are granted by *Great Britain*. The amendment appears fair and equitable, and yet the Minister himself has shewn by his own conduct, that *Ireland* ought not to agree to it. For the Minister
rejected

rejected a clause proposed to restrain bounties on exportation to all other countries except as before, expressly because that branch of commerce did not make a part of the present arrangement. Now the very same argument goes to the rejection of the amendment; the object of which is equally foreign to regulating the intercourse between the two kingdoms, and *Ireland* by acceding to it, would submit to a restriction from which she is, at present, exempt.

RESOLUTION XVI.

This resolution, in its original state, engaged in each kingdom an effectual preference to articles of the growth, produce, or manufactures of the other, over those of foreign nations. But a clause has been inserted in *England*, demanding *Ireland* to engage herself to give a like preference to all *West India* goods over similar articles from the states of *America*, in all cases where *Great Britain* not only now gives such a preference, but in all cases that she may hereafter give it, by imposing duties. I have already shewn how far the principle of this amendment appeared inadmissible, under resolution 4th. The object of it appears equally so, as it is totally foreign to the present settlement; and might prove very injurious to *Ireland*, by giving to *Great Britain* the power of cramping the intercourse between *Ireland* and *America*, which promises to be highly advantageous to this kingdom. It might, in many instances, be the interest of *Great Britain* to encourage the monopoly of her *West India* islands; but could, in no instance, be the interest of *Ireland*. I maintain that it would be infinitely preferable for *Ireland* to renounce at once all trade or communication with the *West Indies*,

Indies, than to submit to so injurious a restriction; abstracted from the unconstitutional principle on which it is founded.

RESOLUTION XVII.

As no species of property is acquired with more labour, or more useful to the publick, so none deserves greater encouragement than literary knowledge. The protection of literary property will therefore appear a very proper object, and falls immediately under the original plan, tho' it made no part of it. Care should, however, be taken not to extend the operation of copy-rights to *Ireland*, but to reserve to our Printers the privilege they enjoy of printing and vending within this kingdom.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

The above caution is still more requisite in respect to this resolution, which is also new, and is intended to guard *patent* rights, as the 17th is to guard *copy* rights. If the protection granted to both be the same, namely, to prevent the *Irish* from taking the advantage of the publication or discovery to supply the *British* market, I think there cannot possibly be any objection to the regulation. But if it is meant to preclude *Ireland* from supplying herself with the different articles &c. &c: except from the author, or patentee, or from those acting under their powers, and thus extending the operation of the copy-right and patent to *Ireland*, I think it ought, by no means, to be admitted; because it is not, at present, so understood, and if such had been the construction of *copy-rights and patents*, *IRELAND* must have not only been plunged in ignorance,
but

but her poverty would have for ever precluded her from the machinery necessary for carrying on manufactures, and the innumerable improvements she has copied from the ingenuity and invention of *Great Britain*.

RESOLUTION XIX.

Is new, but falls properly *under* the original object of settlement.

RESOLUTION XX.

I have already stated my objections to the principle of compensation from which this resolution arises. The more attentively the subject is considered, the more forcible will they appear; for the whole being viewed as one plan, and parts of one system, a failure in the performance of any one article would vitiate the whole; and *Ireland* would, by refusing to confirm any one decree of *Great Britain*, forfeit all the advantages held under such a title.

I humbly conceive that a legal objection might arise to the *appropriation* of a revenue already *appropriated*. If such a proposal had come from any other man, *Mr. Pitt* would not have failed to exclaim, that the King's sacred rights were invaded, and his Majesty robbed of his property.

I have a much stronger objection to PERMANENT *provisions for securing the due collection of the revenue*; or, in other words, to a PERPETUAL REVENUE BILL, which is perfectly in conformity with *Mr. Pitt's* plan of *British superiority*, and *Irish subjection*.

Only three years ago, no minister on earth would have dared to insult the *Irish* nation with such proposals. And I believe still, that no minister

nister will be found desperate enough to state such requisitions to the *Irish* parliament.

Great Britain has ever jealously retained the power of granting supplies, even to the most constitutional and indispensably necessary defence of her trade and empire, her navy, except from year to year.

Will *Ireland* make a PERPETUAL grant to the same service?—If she were capable of a general surrender of her *constitution* and *independence* in the cases I have stated above, she might readily agree to complete the *new system* by granting a *perpetual supply*, in time of peace, to *Great Britain*; and in time of war, a right to demand a further provision.—But has *England* herself nothing to dread from the example? a great authority has told us from the *throne* that a similarity of laws and constitution formed the strongest bond of our connexion. When the *Irish* constitution is *new modelled*, a *greater authority* may enforce the argument of *similarity* to *Great Britain*.

Having thus gone thro' each of the resolutions separately, it was my original intention to have taken a general view of the whole; stating the advantages against the disadvantages; but I am afraid of trespassing by repetitions, as I have already in a manner anticipated this part of my plan, and rendered any further arguments unnecessary, to convince every man in the kingdom that the disadvantages would infinitely outweigh the advantages viewed only in a *commercial* light, without any reference to a *constitutional*.—For it is self-evident that *Ireland* must have brought her manufactures to an equal perfection with *Britain*,
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if not a greater, before she can reserve one shilling advantage from one part of the arrangement; and be possessed of shipping and a capital sufficient to give long credit to the *British* Merchant, before she can become the boasted *emporium* of foreign trade, so as to supply *Great Britain* with the articles that fall under the second. *Ireland* might with equal wisdom, treat for a power of supplying *Virginia* with tobacco, and *Russia* with hemp. For so far from encouraging our manufactures, this system would for ever depress them. But it may be said, why then do not the Manufacturers come forward and oppose it—because we have no Manufacturers, except in the Linen branch, and that is our great misfortune. With regard to the Merchants, I must also beg leave to observe, that the little trade carried on hitherto in this kingdom has been principally on *British* capitals, and that the greater part of that body may be viewed rather as *British* Factors than *Irish* Merchants. Many of them are men of sense, probity, and discernment; but self-interest gives a strong bias to the mind. The interest of merchants is frequently opposite to that of the public; but more particularly, the interest of the *Irish* importer of *British* goods, or exporters of *Irish* materials for *British* manufactures is directly repugnant to that of the landed and manufacturing interests of this kingdom; and yet in the present state of the kingdom such a trade is indispensably necessary. It is natural for men engaged in the *commission line* to dread any interruption to that system. They are not *free agents*, but acting under *British* influence—and the same causes that operated so long in keeping the *Irish Parliament* dependent on the *British*, will operate long in keeping the *Irish* merchants in the same subjection.

It will, however, be universally allowed that *Ireland* could not, in her present state, receive the slightest benefit of any kind from the new arrange-

ment.—For a distant prospect of ideal advantages, what is she called on to give up?

At this moment the commerce of *Ireland* is free and unrestrained, except the insignificant branch of Colony trade, granted by *Britain* in 1780. *America*, I mean *Independent America*, *Russia*, and the Northern Kingdoms and States that lie on the *Baltick*, offer a sure and inexhaustible market to the manufactures of *Ireland*. The only rival that can keep her back is *Great Britain*; in her present state she can encourage her manufactures by bounties or exportation. By this plan she is to renounce this right, in respect to *America**;—and further to give *Great Britain* a power of taxing her † *American* imports, in favour of the *West India* Colonies, which must prove highly prejudicial to the growing intercourse between *Ireland* and *America*. But this is not all, *Ireland* is further to engage to impose † similar duties to *Great Britain*, in all times hereafter, on her exports to *America*, the *British Colonies*, and *Africa*, at the discretion of *Great Britain*. By a very slight use of this power, *Great Britain* could for ever restrain the exports of *Ireland* precisely to the articles that she pleased to permit; for I have already observed, that established and flourishing manufactures can bear imposts that would have totally crushed them in an infant state: nay, the very § *restrictions* and *regulations* which *Great Britain* demands a power of laying hereafter, at all times, on the trade and commerce of *Ireland*, might be easily managed to prevent her growing prosperity from giving umbrage to her jealous sister. Add to the above, the terms imposed in favour of the || *British East India Company*, for which I refer to what I have said on R. 9; and it must appear madness in the extreme to admit for one moment the idea of treating on such terms; not to take into the account all the objections I have,

* R. 15. † R. 16. † R. 8. § R. 4. || R. 9.

have stated as arising from the terms of the 20th Resolution.

Ireland, after such an agreement attempting to enter into any competition as a manufacturing or commercial state with *Great Britain*, would be like a child, who after submitting to have his hands and feet bound, should attempt to wrestle with a *Hercules*.

We must not forget too an additional drag-chain hung on our infant manufactures by an imposition of new taxes, given for 140,000*l.* but which will take a much greater sum out of the pockets of the people. An honest man, feeling for the public, proposes to equalize the annual expence with the annual income of the State, —Nothing so easy, says the Minister, and imposes new taxes for the purpose. Is the corruption or extravagance of Government either restrained, or guarded against in future by this operation?—Not in the least! but means are furnished to supply and encourage the one and the other.

To conclude, therefore, this part of my subject, let me entreat every Irishman to recollect that *Ireland*, at this moment, enjoys the same privileges, rights and powers to send all articles of foreign produce, &c. to *Great Britain*, in the same manner, and to the same extent that *Great Britain* does to send such articles into *Ireland*. The Minister himself has repeatedly given this construction of the navigation laws;—*Ireland* ought not to admit any other: to treat therefore for what you already enjoy, would be an absurdity indeed!

As to the other branch of the present plan, the admitting *Irish* manufactures to the *British* market, we have a *right* to demand such a permission in return for the indulgence of the same kind granted to *Great Britain*; or, if she should refuse to make this concession, we have the remedy

in our own power by following her example, and protecting our infant manufactures by such duties as we shall judge expedient; and so the business will be settled very simply, to the satisfaction of both kingdoms.

I may be asked if it be not practicable to modify Mr. Pitt's resolutions, so as to make them agreeable to Ireland?—I answer, that the only modification that Ireland can expect, is a total rejection of his 2d, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, and the obnoxious parts of his 15th and 16th resolutions. Until those are abandoned and given up, Ireland ought not so much as to admit any treaty with a Minister who has insulted her, by demanding a surrender of her *independence to Great Britain*.—The 20th should also be rejected, and in its stead, a general resolution made of the propriety of *Ireland's* contributing at all times to the general expence of the State, as her *Parliament* shall from time to time judge expedient.

If *Mr. Pitt* accedes to the original conditions that the *Duke of Rutland* proposed to the *Irish Parliament*, *Ireland* is bound to abide by them. Let individuals forfeit their HONOUR if they please; *Ireland*, I hope, never will forfeit her's.

Having said thus much with regard to the commercial part of these resolutions, it was my wish and intention to have entered into a separate discussion of the constitutional, as the more immediate object of the 4th, 5th, 8th, 15th and 16th resolutions. But in this every man of sense and spirit throughout the kingdom—every man who has a regard for the rights of Ireland—every man who has not yet forgotten the revolution of 1782, has already anticipated me. These resolutions are, as Mr. Grattan declared them to be, SUBVERSIVE OF THE RIGHTS OF IRELAND, and it is no unfavourable omen for the people of this country, that when the resolutions were so reprobated by Mr. Grattan, there was not a single

single person on the Treasury Bench, not even the Secretary himself, who ventured to defend them. Embarrassed and confounded as he evidently was by this manly, this unequivocal and decided declaration of Mr. Grattan's sentiments, he had the modesty and wisdom to confine himself within general terms, to resort to the old ministerial ground, that the House was not in possession of the subject, and that Administration here was not inimical to the rights of Ireland. This was all that he said, and in parliamentary language it means just nothing at all. In the present delicate situation of affairs it would not, perhaps, be proper even to insinuate that Government here was perfectly resolved on carrying this obnoxious system, as it now stands, through the House of Commons. Whatever their intentions were in that respect, it is now pretty certain that the short conversation of Monday last, especially what fell from Mr. Grattan in the one House, and the Duke of Leinster in the other, has completely confounded them.—Whether, in consequence of it, these resolutions will be altered in the House of Lords in England, or whether they will return here, with all their imperfections on their head, to undergo some trifling modification in our Parliament, time only can shew: in the interim it is proper that the people of Ireland should be acquainted with their real situation, and that it should be unfolded to them with that delicacy and that respect which is due to those who govern, as well as to those who are governed. The fourth resolution speaks for itself. It requires no supplementary comment, no subtle and malign interpreter, no querulous language of disappointed party. It is *in rotidem verbis* a resumption of the right of *external legislation* on the part of England, as the 5th, 8th, and 16th are of *internal*; it has been
by

by some members * of both houses of parliament in England declared to be so, and they have given the Minister their support for no other reason, but because it is a resumption. Disagreeing with him in almost every thing else, they accord entirely with him in this. Let not then, since things are so situated, let not the good sense of the people of Ireland be imposed on by any ministerial seductive language. Let them not listen to the nonsense of any man who will dare to tell them that all is harmony, all is content, and that this system is in every respect the most beneficial that can be imagined. Let them turn with indignation from any dependant of the Castle who will retail to them the fabricated lie of office, and say that these propositions have been discoloured and distorted merely by faction. The Ministry, and the Ministry alone have given them whatever tinge they have received. They alone are answerable for this system; they alone can be accused of disturbing the harmony between the two kingdoms; they alone, have irritated the minds of the people. Were the writer heretofore mean and wicked enough to exult in the calamities of government; were he capable of indulging a despicable and malignant triumph in their mistakes and their misconduct; were he as anxious to procure them as much unpopularity in the country, as it is his wish at all times to procure them respect and approbation; his advice to them would be to go on just as they are at present, neither to turn to the right hand or the left, but to pursue the completion of a system which holds out constitution, and reciprocity as its supposed foundations; and in every line of it displays the most contemptuous insulting deviation from both.

* Mr. Jolliffe, &c.

F I N I S.